

SOME NOTES ON THE SAKAI DIALECTS OF THE MALAY PENINSULA.

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"For the purpose of disclosing to us the real character of language left to itself to follow its own laws, without let or hindrance, a study of Chinese and the Turanian dialects, a study even of the jargons of the savages of Africa, Polynesia and Melanesia is far more instructive than the most minute analysis of Sanskrit or Hebrew."

"On the Stratification of Languages."—MAX MÜLLER.



HE present paper deals with some of the jargons referred to by Professor MAX MÜLLER in the extract from the lecture above quoted, and as the dialects spoken by the largest Sakai tribes of the Peninsula have hitherto practically escaped observation, I trust that even the scanty data in my possession may prove of interest to the readers of this Journal. I do not propose to publish at the present time an exhaustive vocabulary of any of the dialects in question, as the material in my possession is not, in my opinion, sufficiently complete to render any publication that I could now make, of permanent value. I venture to think, however, that as during the last seven years I have visited many aboriginal tribes, and have collected vocabularies of their dialects in several parts of the Peninsula, many of the facts which I have ascertained, and the conclusions to which, in my opinion, these facts point, may be new and worthy of consideration by those who care for philosophical study. At some future date, when I have had further

opportunities of perfecting and completing my grammar and vocabularies of Sakai dialects, I hope to be able to publish them in a form which will be more thorough and satisfactory than any which I could now attempt, and I shall, therefore, restrict myself in the present paper to a few notes on these dialects, and their connection with Malay.

In the same way, and for the same reasons, I shall not attempt to embody in this article any facts concerning the Semang or Pangan, as the Negritos proper are variously called by the Malays, and even in the Sakai dialects, I shall deal chiefly with the Sĕn-oi dialect, which is that with which I have the more intimate acquaintance, and which appears to be the purest form of Sakai extant.

Before going any further, however, it is necessary to clearly state that the aborigines of the Peninsula consist of people of two distinct races. The first, or Sakai, are a light-coloured, slenderly built people with the wavy, abundant hair, and in many cases the drooping nose of the Polynesian. The second, or Semang, who are true Negrito, are short, dark and thickset, with woolly hair, flat features, thick lips and general Negro characteristics. The former have attained a degree of civilization which is far superior to anything which the Negrito have reached. Sakai live in houses, and plant as well as hunt. The Negrito lives by his bow and blow-pipe alone, and lives in a temporary lean-to shed in spots where game is most plentiful. The Sakai affects to look down upon the Negrito, while the latter is a happy-go-lucky, cheery, little hunter who looks down on nobody.

The Sakai tribe is now split up into innumerable clans, each consisting of a few families, living in places surrounded by the Malays, and thus cut off from intercommunication with one another. These small clans, as might be anticipated, show many signs of the influence exerted over them by their Malay neighbours in their language and customs, and though it is comparatively rare to find them embracing the Muhammadan faith, still their civilization is more advanced, and they themselves are more degenerate than their brothers the Sakai of the far interior. There is a clan of Sakai in Kuantan (Pahang)

which actually keeps a Malay *Pendekar* to teach the young idea the art of Malay fencing! This is an exceptional case, but, as a rule, when a Sakai has come to wear clothes he is morally a ruined man.

Among these clans the dialect spoken is so interspersed with Malay words and phrases, as to be merely a bastard form of the original tongue, and it is not from them that we can learn what the pure Sakai language is. A study of such mutilated dialects, except as a means of watching the rapid decadence of a barbarous tongue, would not repay the labour. Fortunately there is one large district in the Peninsula which is still purely Sakai country, the only permanent inhabitants being all of the Sakai race. This district is situated in almost the exact centre of the Peninsula, and comprises the head waters of the Jelai, Telom, and Serau Rivers in Pahang, the *ulu* of the Batang Padang, Bidor, Kampar, and Plus Rivers in Perak, and of the Galas and Nenggiri Rivers in Kelantan. This large tract of country having from time immemorial been almost exclusively peopled by Sakai, it is here alone that the pure Sakai is met with, and then only in the interior of the district, in places where the Malay language is still unknown. Here we find the Sakai tongue spoken as it has been spoken for generations, and containing comparatively few Malay words, or signs of the influence of the Malay language. Outside influence, as is well known, is a great modifier of all languages, and more especially of the dialects of a wholly unlettered people, and it is, therefore, a matter of some interest to find the Sakai in those places where such influence has scarcely had an opportunity of being brought to bear upon him, or where such disturbing elements have been reduced to an absolute minimum. Comparison with the dialects spoken by the scattered tribes, who have long been surrounded by Malays, shews that in the pure Sakai dialects many words are found which have been replaced by Malay words among the former tribes, and that the general purity of the language has been much destroyed by the introduction of foreign words or phrases.

For these reasons, I shall deal chiefly with the two

dialects of Sakai spoken in the tract of jungle, or "Sakai country" above referred to, and shall only use the vocabularies collected in other parts of the Peninsula for purposes of comparison and illustration.

The two dialects here mentioned are called by the Sakai of the lower half of this district "Sēn-oi" and "Tēm-be'", respectively, though the term "Sēn-oi" is applied to itself by each of the tribes in question, neither of which will allow that the other has any right to the appellation. The term "Gob" (a stranger) is applied to all mankind other than the hill-tribesmen, the term "Gob Mälāyu" being used for the Malays, "Gob Chi-na'" for a Chinaman, and "Gob Bi-ûg" (the white stranger) for a European. A line drawn from Blanja on the Perak River to the Bidor mountains, and thence to Kuala Nenggiri in the State of Kelantan, will roughly divide these two tribes from one another, the country South of this line being inhabited by Sēn-oi, and the northern division by Tēm-be'. Trade and other intercourse is carried on between the Tēm-be' and Sēn-oi, but though the dialects spoken are, in my opinion, undoubtedly mere variations one of another, still they differ sufficiently to render it impossible for a Sēn-oi to understand a Tēm-be' and *vice versa*, unless either is familiar with the dialect of the other.

The grounds on which I base my statement as to the near connection between these dialects, and their intimate relation with one another, are the curiously close resemblance which exists between many of the more elementary words in both Sēn-oi and Tēm-be'. The following examples, taken almost hap-hazard from my Sakai vocabularies, will amply illustrate the above fact, and, in my opinion, are sufficient to justify the belief that both tongues are sprung from the same source, even if one is not a mere corruption of the other:—

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Sēn-oi.</i> | <i>Tēm-be'.</i> |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| To eat | Cha' | Cha' |
| To go | Chîp | Chîp |
| To give | Ôk | Ôk |
| To take | Kod | Kod |
| To laugh | Lûk | Lûp |

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Sěn-oi.</i> | <i>Těm-be'.</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Cooked rice | Cha'-na' | Cha'-na' |
| To be; to have, &c. | Měng | Moh |
| Fire | Ois | Ois |
| A bird | Chěp | Chěp |
| Earth-hand | Tě | Tě |
| A husband | Ěn-sîrr | Sîrr |
| Down stream | Rěh | Rěh |
| A path | Nong | Nong |
| The head | Kû-i | Kû-i |
| The stomach | Kut | Kut |
| Jungle | Sě-rák ⁿ | Sě-rok |
| High | Chě-rük ⁿ | Jě-rök |
| Tired ; fatigued | Gě-hěl | Gě-hěl |
| To ; towards, &c. | Ma' | Ma' |

The above examples can easily be multiplied, but they are, in my opinion, sufficient to establish the intimate connection which exists between the Sěn-oi and Těm-be' dialects : nevertheless it must not be supposed that all or even the majority of the words used by these two clans are equally similar to one another. The following specimens of common and elementary words will amply prove that this is not the case, although even in some of them I maintain that a near connection can also be traced :—

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Sěn-oi.</i> | <i>Těm-be'.</i> |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| I, me, we, us | Eng | Yêh |
| You, he, she, it | Hêh | Hâh |
| Come | Da | Bê |
| To do ; to make | Ú-i | Él |
| Smoke | Bi-chûl | Jět-jöt |
| A lie | Pa'-ho' | Li-bus |
| A tiger | Rak ⁿ | Ma'-nu |
| Flooring | Ching-karr | Nîs |
| A pillow | Tě-nû-i | Chěng-kol |
| A mother | Mê | Boh |
| A father | Bî | Běr |
| A child | Kě-nod | Kwod |
| A blow-pipe | Bě-lau | Blâ-hû |

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Sěn-oi</i> | <i>Těm-be'.</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| To hear | Gěr-těk | Kě-yok |
| A house | Děrk ⁿ | Děh |
| Good; pretty | Bor | Měng |
| Here | Dih | Doh |
| Great; large | Ěn-toi | Mě-nū |

The numerals, which are a curious feature in Sakai dialects, also differ in Sěn-oi and Těm-be'. No Sakai can count, in his own dialect, above three, and among the pure Sakai tribes of the interior no words are in use to express four, five, etc., a word which means "many, etc." being used for any number greater than three. The Sakai who are met with near Malay settlements have, for the most part, adopted the Malay numerals up to ten, but this is merely another instance of the influence which the Malays have exerted on the manner of thought, and consequently on the language of these savages. The numerals as known to the pure Sakai are as follows:—

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Sěn-oi.</i> | <i>Těm-be'.</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| One | Na'-nu | Něh |
| Two | Nar | Nar |
| Three | Ně | Ne' |
| Many, etc. | Kěrp ⁿ | Cha'-tuk ⁿ |

In only one case have I encountered a higher numeral than three among any of the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula. The tribe in whose vocabulary a word for the numeral "four" was found lived, in 1885, in the jungles near Sadang on the geographical right bank of the Perak River, and consisted at that time of only seven members. I was told by the father of this family that he, his wife and his children were all who survived of a comparatively large clan, which, I make little doubt, will shortly be wholly extinct. Professor MAX MÜLLER tells of a traveller in South America who saw a parrot which was the only living creature that could speak some words of a forgotten tongue. A vocabulary which I compiled of this dialect will act the part of the parrot, and will shortly be the only record that such a dialect was ever spoken by man. This tribe called itself Semang as opposed to the Sakai tribes of

Lēngkūas near Blanja, but its representatives differed very considerably in physical characteristics from the Semang of Ulu Perak, and the Pangan of Ulu Kelantan and Ulu Pahang. The following are the numerals in use among these Semang :—

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Semang of Sadang.</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| One | Nai |
| Two | Bêh |
| Three | Pat |
| Four | Sa-bêh |

In other respects, however, this dialect was even more primitive than any Sakai language with which I am acquainted, no word being used for "male," "female" and many other elementary expressions.

As I trust that I have now been able to establish the near connection between the Sēn-oi and Tēm-be' dialects, I propose, in the following table, to give examples of twenty words found in four Sakai dialects collected in Perak and Pahang, which will, in my opinion, support my contention that the isolated or the scattered Sakai clans all speak languages which have a common origin, and which are closely connected one with another. Of the Sakai of the sea-coast, if indeed these people are really Sakai, and not some other race, I do not profess to treat, as I have had few opportunities of gaining any sufficient knowledge concerning them. The Sakai who speak the dialects, to which the table printed below refers, are all hill-tribes, or land Sakai, and all present the same physical characteristics which I have described in an earlier paragraph of this paper :—

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Sēn-oi.</i> | <i>Tēm-be'.</i> | <i>Blanja dialect.</i> | <i>Slim dialect.</i> |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 To sit | Gû-i | Gûl | Gû-i | Gér-i |
| 2 That | Jîh | Nah | Jîh | Jîh |
| 3 Recently; just | Pai | Pai | Pai | Pai |
| 4 To throw away | Wêh | Gas | Gas | Gas |
| 5 A pig | Gau | Gaur | Gau | Gau |
| 6 To bring | Ên | Ên | Ên | An |
| 7 A rhinoceros | Â-gâp | Â-gap | Â-gâp | Sé-jâp |

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Sēn-oi.</i> | <i>Tēm-be'.</i> | <i>Blanja dialect.</i> | <i>Slim dialect.</i> |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 8 A dog | Cho' | Chû-or | Cho' | Cho' |
| 9 A cloud; the sky | Râ-hu | Râ-hu | Sû-i | Râ-hu |
| 10 To sleep | Bêt | S -log | B t | B t |
| 11 Clothes | Â-bat | Â-bat ⁿ | Â-bat | Â-bau |
| 12 A wife | K -nah | K -nah | K -nah | K -nah |
| 13 Water | T -u | Org | T -u | T -u |
| 14 A river | T -u | T -u | T -u | T -u |
| 15 Wood | J -hu | J -hu | J -hu | J -hu |
| 16 A fowl | Puk | Ma'-nuk | Puk | Puk |
| 17 The moon | G -che' | G -che' | G -che' | Bi-che' |
| 18 To see | Neng | Neh | Neng | Nen |
| 19 To fly | Gi | Guh | Gi | Gi |
| 20 Female | Kr -dol | Ba'-bo' | Kr -dol | Kr -dol |

The above examples will suffice for the purposes of illustration, and I may add that every dialect with which I have yet come in contact shews an equal resemblance to one or other of the two principal variations of the Sakai language—the S n-oi and T m-be' dialects. Leaving the question of the connection which I maintain exists between the various Sakai dialects and sub-dialects, I shall now turn to an examination of some of the characteristics of the S n-oi language, which I have selected as being the form of Sakai with which I have the more intimate acquaintance.

This dialect is spoken by about 6,000 people who, as already stated, inhabit the lower portion of the Sakai country, and many of the isolated clans speak dialects which are merely modifications of it. In its grammar, and in its range of sound, it is merely a type of all Sakai dialects, and the vowels and consonants necessary to transliterate it are common to all these jargons.

A fact which strikes the observer as curious in the Sakai dialects is that in so primitive a tongue so vast a variety of sounds should be found. In S n-oi there are the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*, each of which has four variations, viz., medium, long (^), short (˘), and abrupt ('), with the exception of *u* which has no abrupt tone.

a is pronounced like the vowel sound in *calm*, ex., Da'=to come.

ā is pronounced like the vowel sound in *blast*, ex., A-gap=a rhinoceros.

ă very short *a* sound, ex., Am-cha'=to eat; Dăk=to bear, to support.

a' similar to sound of the final *ak* in the Malay word *Banyak* in the dialects in which the *k* is silent, ex., Pa'-ho'=to lie; Ma'=to, towards.

e as in the English word *get*, ex., Jel-jol=to hang.

ē as in the French word *est*, ex., Jēk=an axe; Nē'=three.

ě a very short *e* sound, ex., Rěn-tak=the tongue; Mě-nang=a younger brother or sister.

e' similar to the *e* sound in the Malay word *Chapek*, the *k* being silent, ex., Nya'-ne'=a ghost, a spirit.

i as in the English word *hit*, ex., Kě-mit=a mosquito.

ī similar to the vowel sound in *cheat*, ex., Ku-ī=language, speech; ī-okⁿ=to fall.

ī̄ a very short *i* sound, shorter than in the English word *hit*, ex., Bi-lut=to extinguish; Bi-jog=wet.

i' as in the Malay word *badiķ*, the *k* being silent, ex., Si'=to fell.

o as in *ox*, ex., Sok=hair.

ō as in *broken*, ex., Shōk=the navel; Ôk=to give.

ō̄ shorter than the *o* in *ox*, ex., Děng-dōkⁿ=a branch.

o' similar to the final *ok* in *puchok*, the *k* being silent, ex., Da'-do'=sufficient, enough.

u similar to the vowel sound in *moon*, ex., Nyun=near; Ku-rul=the knee.

ū̄ similar to the *u* sound in *acute*, ex., Kû-ish=a porcupine; Dûl=the handle of a weapon.

ū̄̄ rather shorter than the *u* sound in *hug*, ex., Krě-rüg=to pull or pluck out.

In addition to the above vowel sounds, there are the semi-vowels *w* and *y*, pronounced as in English, ex., Wêk=to shoot with a bow; Wih=do not!, desist!; Yatⁿ=a grandfather; Yap=to speak.

There are also the diphthongs *ai*, pronounced *eye*, ex., Pai=recently, just, only just; Laish=an ant.

au pronounced like the vowel sound in *how*, ex., Pě-lau-i=a star; Bě-lau=a blow-pipe.

oi pronounced like the vowel sound in *boy*, ex., Sěn-oi=a man; Chě-noi=a post.

The consonants are as follows, and are similar to those in English, in so far as their value is concerned:—

b, *ch*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, and *z*.

These consonants combine as follows:—

ng similar to the Malay *ξ*, ex., Ngěn-tap=the testicles; Mēng=the cheeks.

ny similar to the Malay *ڻ*, or the Spanish *ñ*, ex., Nyûh=heavy; Nyun=near.

sh, which is equivalent to the Malay *ش*, ex., Kě-lêsh=a mountain; Jîsh=daylight; Shôk=the navel.

There are two distinct *r*'s in Sěn-oi—one, which is guttural, pronounced very deep down in the throat, I have rendered *r*, ex., Râ-hu=the sky, the heavens; Rěj-ă-roj=lost, to lose one's way: and the other, which I have rendered *rr*, is a rolled *r* more pronounced than the rolled *r* in French.

Another peculiarity of Sěn-oi is the existence of what, for want of a better name, I have termed "nasal finals." These are final *kⁿ*, final *pⁿ*, and final *tⁿ*. They are pronounced by closing the lips and emitting a very slight nasal *n* sound in a descending tone after the final *k*, *p* or *t* has been articulated. A similar sound is found, I believe, in the Hottentot dialects, but I have as yet had no opportunity of comparing Sakai with the African tongues.

Every syllable in Sakai is pronounced separately and distinctly, with a kind of catch between each, and when Malay words are adopted into the dialect, they too are always split up into their component syllables.

The grammar of the language appears to be simple. The following are the principal rules :—

- I.—The nominative precedes the verb it governs.
- II.—The accusative follows the verb which governs it.
- III.—Adjectives and demonstrative pronouns follow the noun they qualify.
- IV.—The cases are formed by the use of prepositions, with the exception of the genitive case, which is formed by placing the possessor immediately after the thing possessed. The idea *at, to, towards* is rendered by the preposition *Ma'*. The idea *on and from* by the preposition *Kēn*. These prepositions (with the additional particle *Pă=ai, ow*) are found to exist in the same or in slightly modified forms in all the dialects of Sakai with which I am acquainted.

V.—There are no inflections of nouns or conjugation of verbs, but the cases are indicated by the personal pronouns, and the words and tenses by means of the auxiliaries *Hōt*=to wish, to want, and *Tě-lâs*=to be done, over, done, finished, enough.

The following sentences will illustrate all the above rules :—

(i) Eng cha' cha'-na'.

| | | |
|---|-----|-------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| I | eat | rice. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |

(ii) Hēh tě-lâs kuh ka' jîh.

| | | | | |
|----|-----|--------|------|-------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| He | has | killed | that | fish. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

(iii) Derkⁿ êng bê ma'-chut.

| | | | |
|----|-------|------|------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My | house | [is] | very |
| 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| | | | 4 |

(iv) Ôk i-ôdz êng ma' hê.

| | | | | |
|------|----|---------|----|------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Give | my | chopper | to | him. |
| 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 |

(v) Hê chip ma' lor.
 1 2 3 4

Where [are] you going (*Lit.*, You go to where?).
 4 1 2

(vi) Eng hot chip ma' ta'.
 1 2 3 4 5

I [am] going upstream (*Lit.*, I wish to go to the interior).
 1 3 1 2 3 4 5

(vii) Hê gû-i kĕn tê nyun derkⁿ jîh.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Sit you upon the ground near this house.
 2 1 3 4 5 7 6

(viii) Eng pai hôl kĕn rê.
 1 2 3 4 5 5
 I [have] just arrived from downstream.

(ix) la-lok mĕ-nang êng hot chip ma' së-rakⁿ bort chêp.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

To-morrow [my] brother will go to [the] jungle [to]
 1 3 4 5 8 9
 catch birds.
 6 7

(x) Bi-chûl â-batⁿ sën-oi.
 1 2 3

Smoke [is] the garment [of the] Sakai. (a Sën-oi
 1 2 3
 proverb).

The above will, I hope, give a sufficiently clear idea of the manner in which Sën-oi sentences are formed, but before passing on to other matters, there are one or two peculiarities of the Sën-oi dialect which I should like to mention. One is the extraordinarily close resemblance which exists between many words in this dialect, and which, at first, is very puzzling to one who has to compile his own grammar and vocabulary of these aboriginal tongues. The following examples will

illustrate this peculiarity with sufficient clearness :—

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Cho' | = A dog |
| Choh | = To void |
| Chôk | = To stab |
| Chôk ^a | = A root, a rattan |
| Dol | = To place, to set down |
| Dûl | = The handle of a knife |
| Êng | = I, we |
| Ên | = To bring |
| Hol | = A small black ape—the <i>siamang</i> of the Malays |
| Hôl | = To arrive |
| Ka' | = A fish |
| Kah | = To cut, to gash |
| Kol | = Pith |
| Kôl | = To fall down |
| Kû-i | = The head |
| Ku-î | = Language, speech |

The colours which have names in the Sakai language are as follows :—

| | |
|----------|---------|
| Rë-ngah | = Black |
| Bi-ûg | = White |
| Chëng-ul | = Red |

All dark colours are included under "Black;" green, blue, mauve, &c. under "White;" and crimson, orange, yellow and brown under "Red."

Hitherto all efforts to connect the Sëñ-oi dialects with any other tongue have failed, so far as my attempts are concerned, but I have now arranged to procure some further vocabularies for purposes of comparison, and hope to be able to discover a connection either with the Papuan dialects or with some of the jargons spoken by the Dyaks or other aboriginal tribes of the Malay Archipelago. The statement made by MR. VAUGHAN STEVENS that the Sakai dialects were closely connected with the language of Thibet is totally incorrect. After a careful comparison of the grammars and vocabularies of the two tongues, I am in a position to state that they have neither a root nor a grammatical form in common. Thibetan is a polysyllabic language with an elaborate grammar,

which in no point is similar with anything found in Sakai or Semang. The language spoken by the latter people I hope to be able to connect with the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. The physical characteristics of the two people are strikingly similar, and a comparison of their dialects will be full of interest. It would be somewhat premature, however, to do more than study the Sakai dialects themselves, and, as already stated, I have not hitherto succeeded in finding a single root in common in any of the vocabularies (including that of the Veddahs of Ceylon, which would appear to be a bastard Indian dialect) which I have as yet been able to examine.

There is yet another point on which I should wish to touch before concluding these notes. I refer to the connection between Sakai and Malay. In the introduction to his *Malay Manual*, Mr. W. E. MAXWELL has propounded a theory to the effect that some Malay roots may possibly be derived from Sakai. He says:—"Another characteristic list of words might "be made compounded with the monosyllable *Tang* (which in "Sakai and Semang means 'hand'), and conveying an idea "of seizing or holding. *Tang-an*=the hand; *Tang-kap*=to "seize," &c., &c.

Now, in Sēn-oi the word for "hand" is *Terk* and in Tēm-be' it is *Pih*. Semang dialects are absolutely distinct from Sakai, having but few roots in common, and in no dialect that I know does the word *Tang* occur meaning a "hand." This being so, I should be disinclined to accept Mr. MAXWELL's theory, the more so as there is much evidence to prove that at the time the Malays first penetrated into the Peninsula and other Malay countries, they spoke a language which, both in its words and in the rules by which its substantives were formed, did not differ appreciably from the Malay of to-day.

The names *duri-an*, the thorny fruit, *rambut-an*, the hairy fruit, and *pulas-an*, the twisted fruit, were all given to the fruits in question (which are indigenous in the Malay countries alone) by a people in whose language the words *duri*, a thorn, *rambut*, hair, and *pulas*, to twist, were all accepted terms, and at a period when the inseparable affix *an* had come to be employed for the formation of substantives as it is to the

present day. The language being thus formed when the Malays first arrived in the Peninsula would preclude the possibility of the Malay language deriving elementary roots from Sakai dialects. Among the Sakai tribes, too, *sem-pa'*, a durian, has no connection with *tér-lákr'*, a thorn, and the names for the other fruits are equally distinct, and seeing that even to the present day the durian groves of the far interior are one of the principal factors in the Sakai's annual food supply, it is only to be expected that the name of so important an article of food should be one of the first elementary words to be embodied in the language of a primitive people dwelling in the Malay Peninsula.

But the evidence leads us further yet. Most people who have travelled in the interior of the Peninsula have seen the stone implements which are frequently discovered by the natives. These implements, called *batu halilintar* or thunder bolts, by the Malays, who believe them to be the bolts hurled from the heavens during storms, are of three kinds—stone axes, shaped somewhat like the Malay *bliong*; spear-heads; and choppers. At the present day similar tools wrought in metal are sold to the Sakai by the Malays, but it is a significant fact that they are all called by Sakai names by the aborigines. The following are the names in question:—

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Malay.</i> | <i>Sĕn-oi.</i> | <i>Tĕm-be'.</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Axe | Bliong | Jĕk | Jĕk |
| Spear | Lembing | Ta-rok | Bĕ-lush |
| Chopper | Parang | I-ôdz | I-ôdz |

Now, in spite of VOLTAIRE'S famous saying that "*pour Messieurs les étymologistes les consonnes ne lui coûtent rien et les voyelles bien peu de chose,*" I doubt whether any one will maintain that any connection exists between the Malay and aboriginal words for these implements. But the Malays also sell hatchets (*kapak*) to the Sakai, and this implement, which has no equivalent among the stone implements of the Peninsula, is called by the Malay name, *kū'-pak* being the Sakai modified form. Now these facts, I contend, point to the conclusion that at one time the tools made of stone were

used by the Sakai and bore the names which are now given to the metal tools, of a similar shape, introduced by the Malays. That the metal weapons were introduced by a foreign race is proved by the fact that even to this day the pure Sakai have no knowledge of the art of fusing metals. That the Malays were the race which introduced these metal tools to the Sakai is rendered more probable by the fact that the weapons for which equivalents do not occur among the stone implements bear Malay names as already stated. If this point is allowed, there remains no alternative but to accept, what in my opinion is an undoubted fact, viz., that the Malays invaded the Peninsula at a period when they had attained to a considerable degree of knowledge in the useful arts, and their language formed in its essential characteristics, and that, therefore, the Malay language does not, and could not possibly, owe anything (saving perhaps the names of a few plants and beasts) to Sakai roots.

In the above remarks I have had occasion to state that the word *Kapak*, a hatchet, is adopted by the Sakai and becomes *Ka'-pak* as pronounced by the aborigines. Now this needs a word of comment, as it has frequently been remarked with surprise that the Sakai in adopting Malay words ending with *k*, which letter is silent in the dialects of the Peninsula, always give the silent *k* its full *written* value. Among other edifying deductions which have been drawn from this simple fact, it has been gravely argued that the peculiarity has arisen from the fact that the Malays of the Peninsula at some former period spoke as do their neighbours of Borneo and Sumatra, who pronounce all final *k*'s. That the Sakai learned it at that period, and have never abandoned the practice, though why they should have retained a peculiarity of pronunciation which the Malays of the Peninsula have relinquished, was not explained.

Now, the true explanation of this matter really is that in Sakai there are certain phonetic laws, of which the Sakai themselves are unconscious, but which, so far as I yet know, are employed without exception in all cases where Malay words are adopted into *Sēn-oi*. These rules can be stated,

but not explained, any more than it can be told why in Malay words with an initial *s* form the verb by dropping that letter and substituting *meny* 〽. In both Sakai and Malay it is probable that euphony to the native ear is alone responsible for such rules. In Sakai the following are the phonetic changes which words adopted by the aborigines from Malay undergo, according to the original termination of the Malay word:—

- (I) All Malay words split up into component syllables.
- (II) A final vowel becomes that vowel in its abrupt (') form. Thus, *luka*, a wound, becomes in Sēn-oi *lu-ka'*.
- (III) Final *m* becomes final nasal *p*ⁿ. The vowel in the last syllable sometimes changing from *a* to *u*. Thus, *jeram*, a rapid, becomes *jē-rup*ⁿ.
- (IV) Final *ng* becomes final nasal *k*ⁿ. Thus, *kuching*, a cat, becomes *ku-chik*ⁿ; *cherang*, a clearing, becomes *chē-rak*ⁿ.
- (V) Final *ak*, *ek*, *ik*, *ok* and *uk* in Malay, though silent in that language, are pronounced as they are written and not as they are pronounced by the Malays of the Peninsula.

The reason for rule (V) is apparent. The *Malay sound* of the finals written *ak*, *ek*, *ik*, *ok* and *uk* are already in use by the Sakai for another class of words adopted from the Malay, as will be seen by rule (II) above. As stated in rule (IV), *k*ⁿ, the only other appropriate sound, is employed for words adopted from the Malay ending in *ng*. The only resource left to the Sakai is, therefore, to pronounce the *k* in order to distinguish between the final *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* or *u*, and the final *ak*, *ek*, *ik*, *ok* and *uk*, and this is accordingly done.

I have now written all that I think it advisable to publish at the present time, and finally I will briefly recapitulate the conclusions which, I think, are shewn to be probable, if not certain, from the evidence which I have submitted. Firstly, then, I hold that the Sakai all speak various dialects of a common tongue; secondly, that they are more ancient inhabitants of the Peninsula than are the Malays; and lastly, that the former have not derived any elementary roots from the Sakai.

15th September, 1891.